

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-15 CU-04 IO-13 ACDA-19 NIC-01 SAJ-01 RSR-01 /147 W

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P R 300840Z AUG 73

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8037

INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USLO PEKING

US MISSION NATO 116

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 8713

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH, UR

SUBJ: SINO-SOVIET POLEMICS INTENSIFY

SUMMARY: PEKING'S LATEST ROUND OF ANTI-SOVIET POLEMICS APPEARS TO BE THE STRONGEST SINCE LATE 1971. HOWEVER, CURRENT CHINESE ATTACKS HAVE NOT PLAYED UP THE POSSIBILITY OF SOVIET AGGRESSION AGAINST CHINA. THE INTENSIFICATION OF POLEMICS ON BOTH SIDES MAY BE RELATED IN PART TO THE RECENT PARTY MEETINGS IN CHINA, BUT SOVIET PROPAGANDA AND DIPLOMATIC MOVES HAVE VERY LIKELY BEEN THE MAJOR STIMULUS. BOTH SIDES APPEAR TO BE GIRDING UP FOR PROTRACTED COMBAT ON ALL DIPLOMATIC, POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL FRONTS. END SUMMARY.

1. OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS THE PRC HAS INTENSIFIED ITS ATTACKS ON SOVIET "SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM," SUBVERSION, ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION AND "FALSE FRIENDSHIP." THE BITTEREST AND MOST SWEEPING INDICTMENT
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OF SOVIET WORLD POWER AMBITIONS IN TWO YEARS APPEARED IN A LONG NCNA

ARTICLE OF AUG 25 WHICH CHARGED THAT "THE TWO DYNASTIES--THE ROMANOV DYNASTY AND THE KHRUSHCHEV-BREZHNEV DYNASTY--ARE LINKED BY A BLACK LINE, THAT IS, THE AGGRESSIVE AND EXPANSIONIST NATURE OF GREAT RUSSIAN CHAUVINISM AND IMPERIALISM." ALSO PEOPLE'S DAILY IN AN AUG 24 DENUNCIATION OF SOVIET NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSALS CONCLUDED THAT "NO APPRAISAL IS TOO GREAT SO FAR AS THE DANGER OF SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM IS CONCERNED." THESE ARTICLES FOLLOW STRONG DENUNCIATIONS EARLIER THIS MONTH OF THE SOVIET INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA (HONG KONG 8412) AND OF SOVIET ARMS POLICIES (HONG KONG 7854) AS WELL AS A STEADY STREAM OF ARTICLES ON THE SOVIET THREAT TO EUROPE, ITS NAVAL EXPANSION, ITS OCCUPATION OF JAPAN'S NORTHERN TERRITORIES, ITS PERFIDIOUSNESS IN THE MID-EAST AND THE PERSIAN GULF, AND ITS WVIL INTERNATIONAL TRADE, AID AND MARITIME POLICIES.

2. THE CCP 10TH PARTY CONGRESS' COMMUNIQUE WARNED "PARTICULARLY" OF THE DANGER OF A "SURPRISE ATTACK" BY SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM (HONG KONG 8686). BUT GENERALLY CURRENT CHINESE STATEMENTS HAVE NOT PLAYED UP THE POSSIBILITY OF IMMINENT SOVIET AGGRESSION AGAINST CHINA. IN SPEECHES TO WOMEN AND TRADE UNION CONGRESSES IN SINKIANG ON AUG 26, FOR EXAMPLE, LEADING CHINESE PROVINCIAL OFFICIALS SAIFUDIN AND YANG YUNG CALLED FOR CRITICISM OF SOVIET "AGGRESSION AND SUBVERSION AGAINST OUR COUNTRY" BUT DID NOT PROJECT A SENSE OF IMMEDIATE DANGER. THERE IS ALSO NO EVIDENCE THAT THE CURRENT CRESCENDO OF VERBAL ATTACKS IS RELATED DIRECTLY TO A SPECIFIC SINO-SOVIET BILATERAL ISSUE. THE BORDER TALKS HAVE APPARENTLY BEEN IN A STATE OF SUSPENSION SINCE EARLY JULY AND WE HAVE SEEN NO EVIDENCE OF SERIOUS TENSION ON THE FRONTIER.

3. THE MAJOR STIMULUS TO THE CURRENT SPURT OF CHINESE POLEMICS SEEMS TO COME FROM EXTERNAL EVENTS. THE VERBAL ANTI-PEKING BARRAGE FROM MOSCOW AND ITS SATELLITES (MOSCOW 9358, SOFIA 1125, WARSAW 4323) HAS NO DOUBT SPURRED THE CHINESE TO GREATER EFFORTS. OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO PEKING IS THE CURRENT SOVIET MOVE TO PUSH ITS ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROPOSAL, TO EXACERBATE FEARS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA OF CHINESE CHAUVINISM, SUBVERSION AND AGGRESSION, AND PERHAPS TO PROMOTE A NEW WORLD CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES. ADDITIONALLY, THE NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE IN ALGIERS, DETENTE DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE AND THE FORTHCOMING VISIT OF TANAKA TO MOSCOW ARE PROBABLY ALSO RELATED TO THE TIMING OF THE CHINESE PROPAGANDA OFFENSIVE.

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4. MOSCOW'S ATTACKS MAY IN PART BE TIMED TO INFLUENCE DOMESTIC POLITICS IN CHINA AND THE CHINESE ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN MAY IN TURN BE MEANT TO UNDERScore THE FACT THAT POLICY TOWARD THE USSR IS NOT SUBJECT TO CHANGE (HONG KONG 8605). IN A WARNING PROBABLY INTENDED FOR ITS OWN PEOPLE AS WELL AS FOR EUROPEANS, THE AUG 24 PEOPLE'S DAILY WARNED THAT "SOME DAY THE NEW CZAR IN THE KREMLIN WILL AGAIN COOK UP AN INVITATION FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF A COUNTRY IN 'REQUEST'

OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE (AND)...THEN DISPATCH MASSIVE ARMED FORCES TO CARRY OUT MILITARY OCCUPATION." HOWEVER, THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS' COMMUNIQUE REFERENCE TO THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF LIN PIAO DID NOT REPEAT PREVIOUS CHARGES OF HIS ALLEGED INTENTION TO RELY ON THE FORCES OF "SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM" TO OVERTHROW THE REGIME.

5. IN SUM, THE CURRENT WAVE OF POLEMICS SEEMS TO BE MORE THAN A TEMPORARY EXCITEMENT OF THE DEBATE. BOTH SIDES SEEM TO BE GIRDING UP FOR PROTRACTED COMBAT ON DIPLOMATIC, POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL FRONTS.
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